1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

1: Gifford E-4.5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

Fishing

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 " loud and powerful sound. They vary the
648 " strength and rate of their beating at different
545 " parts of the dance, and also change their
535 " tones, by beating in the middle, or near the
533 " end of their drum.

[534] " The first dance* consisted of four ranks of
[293] " twenty-four men each, holding in their hands
" a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above
" two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small
" oblong paddle: with these, which are called
" *pagge*, they make a great many different mo-
" tions, such as pointing them toward the
" ground on one side, at the same time inclin-
" ing their bodies that way, from which they
" were shifted to the opposite side, in the same
" manner; then passing them quickly from one
" hand to the other, and twirling them about
" very dexterously; with a variety of other ma-
" nœuvres, all which were accompanied by
" corresponding attitudes of the body. Their
" motions were at first slow, but quickened as
" the drums beat faster; and they recited sen-
" tences in a musical tone the whole time, which
" were answered by the chorus; but at the end
" of a short space they all joined, and finished
" with a shout.

" After ceasing about two or three minutes,
" they began as before, and continued with

* This is the dance called *mée too buggi*.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 " them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 " rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 " of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 " as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 " the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

" Three drums (which at least took two, and
" sometimes three men to carry them), were
" now brought in; and seventy men sat down,
[292] " as a chorus to the third dance. This con-
" sisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each,
" with young Toobou at their head, who was
" richly ornamented with a sort of garment
[293] " covered with red feathers. These danced,
" sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but
" in general much quicker, and performed so
" well, that they had the constant applauses of
" the spectators. A motion that met with par-
" ticular approbation was one in which they
" held the face aside as if ashamed, and the
" *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before
" the front one, and that again resumed its
" place, as in the two former dances; but then
" they began again, formed a triple row, divided,
" retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 " the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 " this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 " exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 " They did this by first twirling them in
411 " their hands, and making circular strokes be-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

" and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
" able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
" proved of the various motions when well 545
" made, a great share of the pleasure they re-
" ceived seemed to arise from the sentimental
" part, or what the performers delivered in their
" speeches *. However, the mere acting part,
" independently of the sentences repeated, was
" well worth our notice, both with respect to
" the extensive plan in which it was executed,
" and to the various motions, as well as the
" exact unity with which they were performed.
" Neither pencil nor pen can describe the nu-
" merous actions and motions, the singularity
" of which was not greater than was the ease
" and gracefulness with which they were per-
" formed.

" In expectation of this evening show, the 175
" circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
" large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing: 526

* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed [535]
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and [293]
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the [177]
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the [533]
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have bor- [191]
rowed them, and both dances and songs have been thus
adopted at Tonga; but as very few of the Tonga people understand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the applause of the people on the above occasion was not excited by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the thighs, and with greater or less swayings of the body; but the main movements are with the hands and arms. Captain Cook, with excellent reason, praised the beauty of the Tongan women's hands. Hands and arms are beautifully modelled, and the muscles are extraordinarily flexible and well-controlled. The gestures, as in some other dances, may be imitative of various activities, for example, sailing a boat, pulling up sails, sailing away, pulling in a fish, sighting a far-off land. Or the movements may not be so readily interpretable. But whatever the theme and the nature of the movements, the rhythmic undulations of the swaying arms are fascinatingly beautiful. So flexible and well-controlled are the muscles of the hands that waves of movement are constantly rippling from wrists to finger-tips.

The *kailao* is a beautiful and picturesque dance. I have seen it performed only once, by two groups of men, each led by a young girl. This dance is said to be an importation from Uvea. The performers, in addition to the leaf girdles and rattles of dried beans on wrists and ankles, had headdresses rather more elaborate than usual. All the dancers carried wooden implements with long narrow blades, not unlike cricket bats, evidently a toy-like property for the dance, but whether intended to represent clubs or paddles is difficult to say. The dancers went through a number of elaborate and difficult evolutions with these implements, feet keeping time to whirling hands and arms. The beating of the drum was quick, and the whole dance most animated.

A Tongan has described to me an older form of *kailao* somewhat different. He said that all the performers sat down, and presently one jumped up and brandished his stick, club or paddle, and then another would join him, till all were engaged. It is surmised that the subjects were pictures of war or sailing. Pratt gives the Samoan cognate *ailao* as meaning "the act of fencing with, or flourishing, a club," which suggests the probability that war is the principal theme of this dance, and that the wooden implements represent clubs.

Most dances belong to great festivals; but one, the *tauolunga*, is seen on less formal occasions. Nowadays it is sometimes danced at concerts conducted on the European model. I have seen a *tauolunga* danced at a concert by two young men, or boys, and one girl or young woman. The performers move back and forth across the stage, hands, body, and feet all in unison. The whole dance is full of grace and animation, the movements of the male performers being more varied and animated than those of the girl. In a concert hall the accompaniment is singing voices, clapping hands, or piano; but of course there is no difficulty in dispensing with the piano. The dancers do not sing. The following is a very popular tune for the *tauolunga*.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

TUESDAY 20*th*. Fenough havi[ng] expressed a desire to see the Marines go through their exercize and being willing to gratify him I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the Morning of the 20th After they had gone through their exercize and fired several Volleys, the Cheif entertained us again in his turn with a sight intirely new. It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first rank; but so much unlike any thing I know of in any other part of the World, that no discription I can give will convey even a tolerable Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred and five, each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something like a paddle of 2½ feet in length, with a small handle and thin blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made. With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in three lines, and by different movements and motions each man changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing, one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man.[1] It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance whould have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had over us. Not one of our musical instruments, except the drum did they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think superiour to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom would attend to them attall either here or at any of the other islands.[2]

[1] This paddle-dance, *mā'ā haggi*, says Mariner, II, p. 215 and n, 'is a Nuha [i.e. Niuatoputapu] dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa [Samoa].'—*Me'e fa'apaki*: *me'e*, a dance; *fa'a*, persistently, or 'to keep going'; *paki*, a paddle.

[2] It was probably during the proceedings of this morning of 20 May that Cook's fate was in the balance, as told in Mariner's story (II, pp. 71–2), quoted above, pp. ciii–civ. Presumably Finau and the other chiefs had already their night dance in preparation, and the argument was over whether to do the deed of assassination during the morning or the following evening.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

though they have no resemblance to them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood or trunks of a tree from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary siz'd man and some smaller, hollow'd entirely out but close at both ends, and open only by a narrow chink about 3 inches broad running almost its whole length, by which the rest is certainly hollow'd though it must be a difficult task. It is calld Naffa,[1] and with the chink turn'd towards them they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long and as thick as the wrist, with which they produce a rude though loud & powerfull sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance, and also change the tones by beating in the middle or near the end of the instrument. The first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty four men each, who held in their hands a little thin light wooden instrument above two feet long and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle, which they call Pagge.[2] With these they made a great many different motions, such as pointing it towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in the same manner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of others, all which were accompany'd by corrosponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow but quicken'd as the drums beat faster, and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answer'd by the chorus but at the end of a short space they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals above a quarter of an hour, when the rear rank dividing shifted themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same manner till the last regaind its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time.

The second had only two drums with forty men for a chorus, and the dancers or rather actors consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen the other fifteen, with Feenou at their head or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases.

[1] *nafa.* [2] *paki.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off.

Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóà tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we like-
wise found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
609 hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
585 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
[583] round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[293] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Com-
[292] pany of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
177 Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
609 Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
535 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
[312] burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shoul'd most emphati-

[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

535 those who have been brought up in the tradition perform. Thus there is
621 little incentive for young women of other villages to learn the
[644] tradition. Even if one would want to learn, however, it would be
535 difficult to find a teacher. The women of Lapaha usually only teach
621 their own daughters or relatives. If someone from another village
868 did learn, she would probably not be taught the essential features of body movement or might not be given the 'correct' vaha ula.

ME'ETU'UPAKI

535 Me'etu'upaki is an ancient man's standing dance in which the
293 performers use paddles called paki. The name, me'etu'upaki, translates as dance (me'e) standing (tu'u) with paki. Paki has been translated by Churchward as "paddle or flat club" (1959, p. 399). Thus me'etu'upaki describes the dance as well as names it. The me'etu'upaki arm movements will not be elaborated here because the emphasis is on the movement of the paki. Suffice it to say that the paki is often used as an extension of the lower arm. The blade of the paki can be compared with the face of the palm and recurrent movements consist of the hitting of one hand to the blade in a manner similar to performing a pasi clap. The movements are bigger but always graceful and dignified. The paki is often twirled by rubbing the hands together much like the movements of morphokine M.I.c.21., palu.

535 Me'etu'upaki is performed by men ranged in several rows who sometimes move as one group or who may divide into two or three groups.

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building, but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries, especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
0U9 Tonga 0U9

175
304 PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

293
127

PLATE 4a.

412
237
127

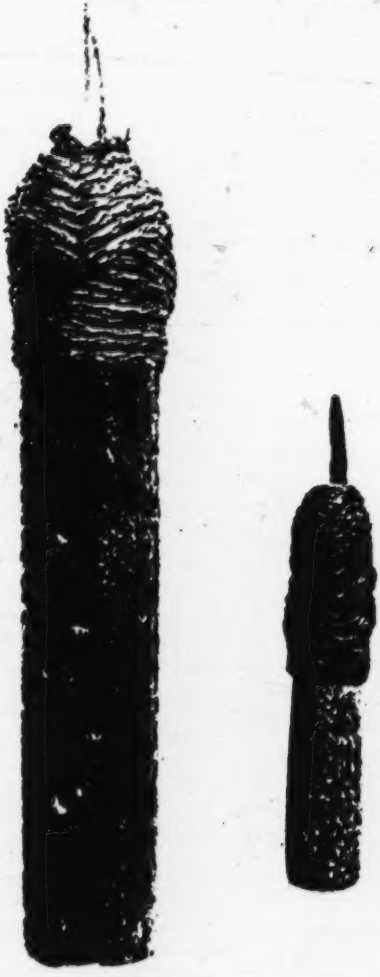

PLATE 4b.

(i) (ii)

[End Plate 4]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
0U9 Tonga 0U9

more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3*a*).[9]

The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445) was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake* and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook. Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after. Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3*b*) is from the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A. [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly whisk (plate 4*a*). It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was manipulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b* (i)). Before Forster's Catalogue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part, the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution. And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '. . . when we landed at Tonga-tabu

A [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]
4

/213 cont./

285
[293] i fulu fulu 'i moa:

This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

[462] [824] Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)

[531] 564. See pp. 306-308.

according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is [239] plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/

i lou fau:

[462] The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

[824] They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and [177] hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes. [386] A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also [239] fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285 [177] Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case, [439] the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences. [178] Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa, [565] i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach. Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us.

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body, coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round,

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony.